

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 3031

USEEC

DEPT FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR: PLS PASS AFL CIO AND AIFLD

EMBASSIES AND GENEVA FOR LABATT; MONTEVIDEO PLS BRIEF
ETCHEVERRY; SAN JOSE PASS CAZARES: GENEVA PLS BRIEF REBHAN

E.O. QQYTW GDS

TAGS ELAB, ICFTU, ILO, PINT, AR

SUBJECT NEW SCHISMS WITHIN THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT

REF: A BUENOS AIRES 2780 (NOTAL)

B BUENOS AIRES 2114 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. REFTEL B DEALT IN PART WITH THE
EMERGENCE OF NEW ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS AND
REALIGNMENTS AMONG ARGENTINAS SURVIVING TRADE
UNION LEADERS, REFLECTING A FRESHLY REGAINED
VITALITY ON THE PART OF TRADITIONAL PERONIST
LABOR FORCES. IN THAT CABLE WE REFERRED TO THE
CREATION OF A "COMMITTEE OF 9", A VERTICALIST
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PERONIST PARTY CAUCUS WITHIN THE "COMMITTEE OF 25", THE
PROVISONAL CGT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WHICH ENJOYS THE
RECOGNITION OF THE AFL CIO, THE ICFTU AND CLAT. WE ALSO
MENTIONED THE FORMATION OF AN ELDER STATESMENS ADVISORY
COUNCIL (CALLED "CASA") CREATED TO HELP COUNSEL THE
"COMMITTEE OF 9" (AND 25. SINCE THEN, TWO NEW FORCES
HAVESEEN ORGANIZATIONAL DAYLIGHT. THE INDEPENDENTS

WITHIN THE COMMITTEE OF 25 ARE ORGANIZING THEMSELVES INTO A MORE COHERENT OBBY, AND, IN A SEPARATE MOVE, A NEW COALITION CALLING ITSELF THE "COMISION DE GESTION Y TRABAJO" (OR "CGT") HAS BEEN FORMED, CLAIMING TO REPRESENT MORE FAITHFULLY THE INTEREST OF THE GOVERNMENT INTERVENED UNIONS THAN THE COMMISSION OF 25. WHILE BOTH THE NEW INDEPENDENT LOBBY AND THE NEW CGT MAY HAVE BEEN INSPIRED BEHIND THE SCENES BY THE ARMY IN ORDER TO COUNTER THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE NAVY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THESE TWO RECENT ARRIVALS. THE INDEPENDENTS OPERATE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE 25, WHEREAS THE NEW CGT IS CLEARLY A PARALLEL ORGANIZATON CHALLENGING THE AUTHORITY OF THE 25. IN THE FACE OF THIS CHALLENGE, THE 25 HAVE RECEIVED THE RE ENDORSEMENT OF THE ICFTU WHICH IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN VIEW OF THE UPCOMING ILO CONFERENCE. SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A GENERAL STRIKE REF B HAVE FADED AWAY AND BEEN REPLACED BY THE MORE FASCINATING ISSUES PRESENTED BY THE NEW SCHISMS AMONG THE LABOR LEADERS. THE PRESENT CABLE IS AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY AND DISTINGUISH THE PLAYERS AND TO LAY OUT THE ISSUES INVOLVED, AS WELL AS THE IMPLICATION AND PROSPECTS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE COMMITTEE OF 25, WHICH PURPORTS TO SPEAK IN THE NAME OF THE ENTIRE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT DURING THE CURRENT PERIOD OF EMERGENCY SUSPENSION OF UNION
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ACTIVITIES, PROVISIONALLY HAS ASSUMED FOR ITSELF FUNCTIONS ANALOGOUS TO THAT OF A CGT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DURING MORE NORMAL TIMES. TWENTY OF THE 25 MEMBERS ARE LEADERS OF NONINTERVENED UNIONS; THE REMAINING FIVE ARE LEADERS (IE OFFICIALLY EX LEADERS) OF UNIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN INTERVENED BY THE MILITARY REGIME. THESE FIVE ARE NOT BE CONFUSED WITH THE COMMITTEE OF 5 WHO ARE ALL NATIONAL SECRETARIES GENERAL OF NONINTERVENED UNIONS SELECTED BY THEIR PEERS LAST YEAR TO ACT AS A SECRETARIAT FOR THE FULL BODY. EACH MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF 5 REPRESENTS A DIFFERENT POLITICAL SUBFACTION WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AS INDICATED IN PARENTHESIS (INTERNATIONAL UNION AFFILIATIONS WHERE APPLICABLE ARE ALSO ADDED) AS FOLLOWS:

A. COMMITTEE OF 5

1. FERNANDO DONAIRES (A CHARTER MEMBER OF THE GROUP OF EIGHT -- A DISSIDENT PERONIST FACTION CONSIDERED CLOSE TO THE VIOLA WING OF THE ARMY), SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PAPERWORKERS (AFFILIATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL WORKERS FEDERATION --ICR--AND THE ICFTU);
2. ANTONIO BALDASSINI (INDEPENDENT), SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POSTAL AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES (AN AFFILIATE OF THE POSTAL,
TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE INTERNATIONAL-PTTI);
3. ENRIQUE MICO (PARTICIPATIONIST), SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE GARMENT WORKERS (BELIEVED
AFFILIATED TO THE INTER AMERICAN TEXTIEL LEATHER
AND GARMENT WORKERS FEDERATION - FIT-TVC);
4. CARLOS A CABRERA (COMBATIVE OR OTHODOX
PERONIST, CONSIDERED PRO CLAT), SECRETARY GENERAL
OF THE MINEWORKERS;
5. ROBERTO GARCIA (VERTICALIST PERONIST), SECRETARY
GENERAL, TAXI DRIVERS;
THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 ARE
B. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
(FROM NONINTERVENED UNIONS:
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6. RICARDO PEREZ (VERTICALIST PERONIST), SECRETARY
GENERAL, TRUCK DRIVERS (AFFILIATED TO INTERNATIONAL
TRANSPORT WORKERS FEDERATION - ITF);
7. JOSE LUIS CASTILLO (VERTICALIST PERONIST,
RUMORED TO BE IN ADMIRAL MASSERAS POCKET, SECRETARY GENERAL
RIVERBOAT MECHANICS;

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED AFL-CIO AND AIFLD.

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EMBASSIES AND GENEVA FOR LABATT; MONTEVIDEO PLS BRIEF
ETCHEVERRY; SAN JOSE PASS CAZARES; RMNEVA PLS BRIEF REBHAN

8. GERONIMO IZZETA (GROUP OF EIGHT), SECRETARY
GENESTBOXAMUNICIPKE3;), SECRETARY
GENERAL, MILL WORKERS;
10. ALFREDO MALDONADO, (PARTICIPATIONIST),
SECRETARY GENERAL, PASTRY WORKERS;
11. JORGE BARILACHE (PARTICIPATIONIST), SECRETARY
GENERAL, BEER WORKERS;
12. ROBERTO S DIGON (COMBATIVE PERONIST; AFFILIATED
TO CLAT), SECRETARY GENERAL, TOBACCO EMPLOYEES;
13. ANTONIO MARCHESE (COMBATIVE), SECRETARY GENERAL,
SHOE WORKERS;
14. SANTIAGO N SERPA (INDEPENDENT PERONIST BUT
SEEMS TO BE VERTICALIST LEANING; ALSO SEEMS PRO
CLAT OR AT LEAST CATHOLIC CHURCH ORIENTED);
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15. OTTO CALACE (INDEPENDENT PERONIST, CLOSE TO ARMY),
SECRETARY GENERAL, HEALTH WORKERS;
16. COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES (NO REPRESENTATIVE FROM THIS
SECTOR APPEARS TO CURRENTLY ATTENDING
25 MEETINGS);
17. RICARDO CAL (INDEPENDENT PERONIST), SECRETARY
GENERAL, LA FRATERNIDAD (LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS)
(AFFILIATED TO ITF);
18. ALBERTO TOMAS SERRANO (INDEPENDENT PERONIST),
SECRETARY GENERAL, TIREWORKERS;
19. DEMETRIO LORENZO (INDEPENDENT PERONIST),
SECRETARY GENERAL, FOOD WORKERS;
20. JUAN HORVATH (INDEPENDENT PERONIST, PRO CLAT),
SECRETARY GENERAL, STATE WORKERS;
(FROM INTERVEND UNIONS);
21. JOSE VICTOR HERNANDEZ, RAILROAD WORKERS;
22. JUAN C CRESPI, STATE PETROLEUM WORKERS;
23. JOSE RODRIGUEZ, AUTO WORKERS (AFFILIATED TO
INTERNATIONAL METAL WORKERS FEDERATION- IMF);
24. DELMIDIO MORET, LIGHT AND POWER WORKERS;
25. NORBERTO PETRICICH, VINEYARD WORKERS (DOES NOT
ATTEND MEETINGS).

3. THE COMMITTEE OF 9 IS A VERTICALIST PERONIST POLITICAL
CAUCUS WHICH OPERATES WITHIN THE COMMITTEE OF 25

(ALTHOUGH TWO OF ITS MEMBERS ARE NOT CHARTER MEMBERS OF THE 25) WHILE SOME OF THOSE LISTED BELOW ARE COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS BELONGING TO THE COMBATIVE FACTION, WE SEE THE EXCOMBATIVES AS GENERALLY ALIGNED WITH AND BELONGING NOWADAYS TO WHAT WE WOULD BROADLY CALL THE VERTICALIST PERONIST SECTOR, IE, GENERALLY ASSOCIATED WITH AND PAYING LIP SERVICE TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICIAL PERONIST MOVEMENT (OR WHATS LEFT OF IT) NOMINALLY HEADED
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BY MRS PERON. THE NINE ARE PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED AS FOLLOWS:

1. ROBERTO GARCIA;
2. ROBERTO DIGON
3. CARLOS CABRERA
4. RICARDO PEREZ
5. JOSE RODRIGUEZ
6. SANTIAGO N SERPA
7. JOSE LUIS CASTILLO
8. ALBERTO CAMPOS, A METALWORKER UNION (CURRENTLY INTERVENED) LEADER PERSONALLY CLOSE TO THE IMF, AIFLD AND ORIT;
9. MIGUEL GAZZERA, LEADER OF THE BUENOS AIRES LOCAL OF THE NOODLEWORKERS UNION (HE IS THE TOP CLAT LEADER IN ARGENTINA).

4. ANOTHER RECENTLY FORMED GROU PIS THE SO CALLED ANALYTICAL COMMISSION OF LABOR ELDER STATESMENT (KNOWN IN SHORT AS "CASA"). WHILE CASA MEMBERS ORIGINALLY STEM FROM DIFFERENT PERONIST POLITICAL HUES, TODAY THEY FORM A BRAIN TRUST FOR WHAT WE BROADLY HAVE CALLED THE VERTICALIST PERONIST LABOR SECTOR." CREATED WITH A VIEW TO DRAFTING POLICY POSITION PAPERS AND ACTION PLANS FOR THE COMMITTEE OF 9, TO PRESENT TO THE FULL COMMITTEE OF 25, CASAS MEMBERS ARE

1. JUAN JOSE TACCONE, FORMER BUENOS AIRES LIGHT AND POWER UNION LEADER (WELL KNOWN TO AIFLD AND AFL CIO);
2. MIGUEL UNAMUNO, EX BANKWORKER LEADER, EX LABOR MINISTER, A TOP VERTICALIST PERONIST LEADER WHO IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH ADMIRAL MASSERA:
3. ELEUTERIO CARDOSO, FORMER MEAT WORKER LEADER;
4. LORENZO PEPE, FORMER RAILWAY LEADER;
5. MIGUEL GASSERA, NOODLE UNION (CLAT);
6. JOSE MANEUL MENDOZA, AN ADVISOR TO OTTO CLACE OF THE HEALTH UNION, REPUTEDLY CLOSE TO THE
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VIOLA WING OF THE ARMY;

7. PAULINO NEIMBRO (FORMER METALWORKER LEADER).

5. THERE IS ALSO UNDERWAY AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF
DISPARATE UNION LEADERS WHO REGARD THEMSELVES AS INDEPENDENT
OR NON ALIGNED TO JOIN FORCES WITH EACH OTHER AND ACT AS
A MORE COHERENT LOBBY. WE BELIEVE POSTAL LEADER BALDASSINI
IS THE LEADER OF THIS EFFORT AND SUSPECT IT WAS ORIGINALLY
INTENDED TO COUNTERBALANCE THE WEIGHT OF THE VERTICALIST
PERONIST LABOR SECTOR WITHIN THE COMMITTEE OF 25.
BECAUSE OF THE DEVELOPING TIES BETWEEN JUNTA MEMBER ADMIRAL
MASSERA AND THE VERTICALISTS, WE SUSPECT THERE MAY
HAVE BEEN ARMY INFLUENCE BEHIND THE MOVE TO CONVERT
THE INDEPENDENTS IN TO A COHERENT VOICE. (WE REGARD
INDEPENDENTS LIKE BALDASSINI (WHO IS NOT A PERONIST),
INDEPENDENT PERONISTS, AND MEMBERS OF THE SO CALLED
EX GROUP OF EIGHT AS ALL ANTI VERTICALISTS WHO VOTE AS A BLOC
AGAINST THE VERTICALISTS (IE, VERTICALISTS AND

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED AFL-CIO AND AIFLD.

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USEEC

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ETCHEVERRY; SAN JOSE PASS CAZARES; GENEVA PLS BRIEF REBHAN

SO-CALLED "COMBATIVES"). THE IMPORTANT THING TO KEEP IN MIND, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE DEVELOPING "INDEPENDENT" BLOC OPERATES AS A FORCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE "25" AND, JUST AS THE VERTICALIST "COMMITTEE OF 9", SUPPORTS THE CONTINUATION OF THE "25" AS THE LEGITIMATE FORUM AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MOVEMENT AT PRESENT. ACCORDING TO A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED APRIL 11, SOME 26 "INDEPENDENT" OR "NON-ALIGNED" UNIONS PUBLICLY RE-ENDORSED THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" IN THE FACE OF THE CHALLENGE REPRESENTED BY THE RIVAL "CGT" (SEE NEXT PARAGRAPH). AMONG THE INDEPENDENT UNION LEADERS WHO SIGNED THE "INDEPENDENT" COMMUNIQUE WERE BALDASSINI, HORVATH, LORENZO, SERRANO, LUIS ETCHEZAR (LA FRATERNIDAD) AND JORG LUJAN (GLASS WORKERS).

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6. THE FIRST STEPS TAKEN ON MARCH 31 TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A PARALLEL TRADE UNION COALITION CALLED THE "COMISION DE GESTION Y TRABAJO", WHOSE INITIALS CONVENIENTLY WORK OUT TO BE "CGT", SENT SHOCK WAVES THROUGHOUT THE LABOR COMMUNITY BECAUSE, UNLIKE THE OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS GOING ON DESCRIBED ABOVE, THIS ENDEAVOR--AS ITS INITIALS CLEARLY IMPLY--IS DESIGNED TO CHALLENGE THE AUTHORITY OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 25". TO SPEAK IN THE NAME OF THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT AS A PROVISIONAL CGT, I.E., THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR. THAT THE NEW "CGT" IS INTENDED AS A PARALLEL ORGANIZATION TO THE "COMMISSION OF 25" IS EVIDENT FROM ITS SELF-STATED OBJECTIVE WHICH IS "TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS OF REPRESENTATION AND UNITY WITHIN THE WORKER MOVEMENT IN ORDER TO PERMIT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT." THIS STATEMENT ALSO SUGGESTS A GREATER PROPENSITY TO COOPERATE WITH THE VIDELA GOVERNMENT THAN THE "25" (OF WHICH MORE LATER). THE NEW "CGT'S" BASIC ARGUMENT IS THAT IT TRULY REPRESENTS THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE INTERVENED UNIONS OF ARGENTINA, WHICH--WHILE THEY MAY BE A MINORITY IN NUMBER--CONSTITUTE THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE ARGENTINE LABOR FORCE. IN CONTRAST, ALLEGES THE "CGT", SINCE THERE ARE ONLY FIVE SEATS ON THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" WHICH REPRESENT INTERVENED NATIONAL UNIONS, THE "25" BASICALLY DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THE NONINTERVENED UNIONS WHICH TEND TO BE SMALLER AND INCONSEQUENTIAL.

7. THE VISIBLE IMPETUS BEHIND THE NEW MOVEMENT COMES FROM SECONDARY LEADERS IN THE METALWORKERS UNION (UOM), WHICH

IS THE LARGEST AND LONG THE POLITICALLY MOST POWERFUL UNION
IN ARGENTINA. THE OSTENSIBLE LEADER OF THE "CGT" IS LUIS
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GUERRERO, WHO HERETOFORE HAS BEEN REGARDED AS THE TOP
LIEUTENANT OF EX-UOM BOSS AND EX-62 ORGANIZATIONS" HEAD
LORENZO MIGUEL (CURRENTLY IN PRISON). GUERRERO IS SUPPORTED
WITHIN HIS OWN UNION BY EX-SENATOR AFRIO PENISI OF SANTA FE
PROVINCE AND LUIS ZAPATA (EX-HEAD OF THE MENDOZA LOCAL).
ONE OF THEIR FIRST MOVES WAS TO ORDER FELLOW METALWORKER
LEADER ALBERTO CAMPOS TO CEASE COLLABORATING WITH THE
"COMMITTEE OF 25".

8. ANOTHER IMPORTANT TRADE UNION LEADER REPORTEDLY
COOPERATING IN THE NEW PARALLEL ENDEAVOR IS PLASTICS
WORKER SECRETARY GENERAL JORGE TRIACCA, WHO WAS IMPRISONED
WHEN THE MILITARY TOOK OVER IN 1976 BUT WHO RECOVERED HIS
LIBERTY LAST YEAR AND SUBSEQUENTLY REASSUMED CONTROL OVER
HIS UNION. IT LONG HAD BEEN RUMORED THAT TRIACCA'S
FREEDOM AND REAPPEARANCE ON THE SCENE WAS ACCOMPLISHED
WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF JUNTA MEMBER ADMIRAL MASSERA, WITH
THE PRESUMED PURPOSE OF HOLDING TRIACCA IN RESERVE FOR SOME GOVERN-
MENT MANEUVER IN THE LABOR FIELD AT A LATER DATE. THE FEDERAL
CAPITAL LOCAL OF THE COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES (WHICH CONTROLS
THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION) IS ALSO PARTICIPATING IN THE
"CGT", AN INSTRUMENTAL FIGURE REPORTEDLY BEING ARMANDO
CAVALIERI, A MAN ACCUSED OF HAVING SURREPTITIOUSLY REMOVED
LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY FROM THE COMMERCIAL WORKERS BANK
DURING HIS TERM AS PRESIDENT OF THAT ENTITY (DURING THE
LAST PERONIST GOVERNMENT) AND WHO IS BELIEVED TO BE A
CONFIDANT OF ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL VIOLA. (SOME SOURCES
BELIEVE THAT CAVALIERI MAY BE BANKROLLING THE ENTIRE "CGT" EFFORT).
ELEMENTS OF THE LIGHT AND POWER UNION WHO COLLABORATE WITH THE
MILITARY INTERVENTOR OF THAT SECTOR AND WHO OPPOSE JUAN
TACCONE'S INFLUENCE REPORTEDLY ARE ALSO PARTICIPATING.
(ONE NAME WE HAVE IS THAT OF JUAN LEZCANO). OTHER
REPORTED COLLABORATORS INCLUDE RAMON VALLE, HEAD OF THE
INSURANCE UNION, AN EX-MEATWORKER LEADER NAMED ROMERO,
OTTO CALACE OF THE HEALTH UNION (WHICH IF TRUE WOULD
MAKE HIM A DEFECTOR FROM THE "25"), AND ELEMENTS FROM THE
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CONSTRUCTION, TEXTILE WORKERS AND OTHER UNION SECTORS
AS WELL. (THESE CLAIMS MAY BE INFLATED SINCE "25" SOURCES
ALLEGED THAT SOME OF THESE WHO ATTEND "CGT" MEETINGS DO
SO UNDER INSTRUCTIONS OF THE "25"). THE ORIGINAL

LEADERS--BUT NOT ALL--WHOSE NAMES HAVE BEEN LINKED WITH THE "CGT" EFFORT ARE OF VERTICALIST PERONIST ORIGINS, SO THAT THE VERTICALISTS CAN BE SAID TO BE SPLIT INTO TWO CAMPS-- THE "CGT" AND THE "25". THE ATTITUDE OF THE VERTICALIST LEADER PAR EXCELLENCE, EX-"62 ORGANIZATIONS" CHIEF MIGUEL, REMAINS UNCLEAR BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THE "CGT" EFFORT, LED AS IT IS BY HIS ERSTWHILE LIEUTENANT GUERRERO, IS A CHALLENGE TO HIS LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS THAT OF THE "25".

9. TRADE UNION SOURCES CLOSE TO THE "25" BELIEVE THAT ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL VIOLA (I.E., THE VIDELA GOVERNMENT) IS BEHIND THE CREATION OF THE "CGT". THEY SEE TWO MAIN OBJECTIVES ON THE PART OF THE ARMY IN FOMENTING THIS MOVEMENT: (A) TO RECOVER GROUND LOST TO THE NAVY IN THE UNIONS OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS AND PARTICULARLY TO COUNTER ADMIRAL MASSERA'S GROWING INFLUENCE (SEE REFTTEL B); AND (B) TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE "25" TO AGREE THIS YEAR--

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UNLIKE LAST--TO FIELD A WORKER DELEGATION TO THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE IN GENEVA IN JUNE.

10. WE ARE WELL INTO THE ANNUAL ILO BARGAINING SEASON--
THE THIRD SINCE THIS GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN POWER--IN WHICH
THE LABOR MOVEMENT REACHES ITS MAXIMUM POSITION OF RELATIVE
LEVERAGE TO BARGAIN FOR CONCESSIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN EXCHANGE
FOR AGREEING TO GO TO GENEVA AND RESISTING THERE THE
EFFORTS OF OUTSIDERS TO CONDEMN THE GOA FOR ITS RESTRICTIONS
OF TRADE UNION LIBERTY. THE "25" OPENING POSTURE THIS
YEAR IS THAT THEY WILL NOT SELECT DELEGATES UNTIL THE
GOVERNMENT AGREES TO TAKE MINIMUM STEPS IN TERMS OF LIFTING
THE INTERVENTION OF THE UNIONS, ISSUING
THE LONG AWAITED REFORM BILL WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE
NORMALIZATION OF UNION ACTIVITIES, GRANTING FREEDOM
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TO TRADE UNION PRISONERS HELD UNDER PEN OR THE INSTITUTIONAL
ACT WITHOUT CHARGES, ETC. THE SUSPICIONS
OF THE "25" WITH REGARD TO THE ORIGIN OF THE "CGT" HAVE
BEEN HEIGHTENED BY THE STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO "CGT"
PROPOSER TRIACCA THAT A WORKER DELEGATION SHOULD GO TO
GENEVA WITHOUT ANY CONDITIONS--"AS A PATRIOTIC GESTURE IN
THE FACE OF THE VILIFICATION CAMPAIGN UNLEASHED AGAINST
THE COUNTRY FROM ABROAD". SUSPICIONS ARE ALSO STRENGTHENED
BY THE FACT THAT LABOR MINISTER LIENDO HAS BEEN MEETING
WITH MEMBERS OF THE "CGT", THE "25" AND YOUNGER LEADERS
FROM THE INTERIOR IN MIXED SESSIONS TO DISCUSS ILO ISSUES.

11. IF THESE SUPPOSITIONS ARE CORRECT, THE GOVERNMENT
AND THE "CGT" RECEIVED A RUDE BLOW WHEN VISITING ICFTU
REPRESENTATIVE ENZO FRISO DECLARED TO THE PRESS LAST WEEK
THAT THE ICFTU WOULD ONLY RECOGNIZE A TRADE UNION DELEGATION
AT GENEVA WHICH HAD THE DEAL OF APPROVAL OF THE "COMMITTEE
OF 25." THE "CGT" ISSUED A REPLY CRITICIZING FRISO FOR
SHOWING FAVORITISM TOWARDS THE "25" AND FOR ALLEGEDLY NOT
HAVING MADE ANY CONTACT WITH INTERVENED UNIONS WHICH MAKE
UP 70 PERCENT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THE "CGT" CONCLUDED ITS
STATEMENT WITH AN EXPRESSION OF DOUBT THAT FRISO'S REMARKS ENJOYED
THE SUPPORT OF THE REST OF THE ICFTU EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.
PAPER WORKER LEADER DONAIRES QUICKLY REBUTTED BY SHOWING
THE PRESS A LETTER FROM OTTO KERSTEN OFFICIALLY ENDORSING
THE "25". (IN ADDITION TO ICFTU-ORIT, THE "25" ALSO
CONTINUE TO ENJOY THE UNDIVIDED SUPPORT OF THE AFL-CIO
AND CLAT).

12. AS OF LAST WEEK THE LABOR MOVEMENT GAVE THE APPEARANCE
OF BEGINNING TO SPLIT WIDELY APART. SOME 70 UNIONS WERE
REPORTED AS HAVING ENDORSED THE "25" WHILE THE NUMBER OF
UNION ELEMENTS JOINING THE NEW "CGT" REPORTEDLY WAS
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GROWING TO SUCH A DEGREE THAT, AS ONE NEWSPAPER COMMENTATOR NOTED, THE VERTICALIST-ANTIVERTICALIST ISSUE WAS NO LONGER RELEVANT SINCE PARADOXICALLY THERE NOW WERE BOTH VERTICALISTS AND ANTIVERTICALISTS IN EACH OF THE TWO NEW BLOCS (I.E., THE "CGT" AND THE "25"). THIS REPORTER CONCLUDED THAT WHILE THERE ORIGINALLY HAD EXISTED SUSPICION OF MILITARY INSPIRATION BEHIND THE NEW SPLIT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THE LABOR LEADERS WERE DOING A GREAT JOB OF BOTCHING UP AFFAIRS FURTHER THEMSELVES. THE SPECTRE OF UNION COUPS WAS ALSO RAISED IN THE PRESS WITH REPORTS--PERHAPS EXAGGERATED--THAT MEMBERS OF THE JUVENTUD PERONISTA SYMPATHETIC TO THE NEW "CGT" WERE MEETING IN A POSTAL UNION LOCAL, PRESUMABLY WITH THE INTENT OF FORCING BALDASSINI OUT OF HIS OWN UNION.

13. DESPITE THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE "CGT" CHALLENGE, HOWEVER, THE "25" SEEM CONFIDENT THAT THEY ARE STILL THE STRONGER OF THE TWO FORCES. MOREOVER, DESPITE THE DIVISIONS, WE JUDGE THAT THE SITUATION IS NOT YET IRRETRIEVABLE. WHILE NOT LIKELY, THE DOOR IS NOT YET TOTALLY SHUT TO ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCS.

14. AS A POSTSCRIPT TO OUR REFTTEL B, WE SHOULD NOTE THAT WITH ALL THE TOP LABOR LEADERS PREOCCUPIED OVER THE CURRENT BATTLE BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCS, THE STRIKE TALK SO MUCH IN MODE A FEW WEEKS AGO SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LOST IN THE SHUFFLE. THE SAME UNION LEADERS WHO TOLD US THAT THERE COULD BE A GENERAL STRIKE IN APRIL HAVE NOW REVERTED TO THEIR MORE TRADITIONAL STANCE OF WARNING ABOUT POSSIBLE "INORGANIC", OR WILDCAST SECTORAL STRIKES, BUT DENYING THAT CONDITIONS WERE RIPE FOR AN ORGANIZED GENERAL NATIONAL WALKOUT.
CASTRO

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED AFL-CIO AND AIFLD.
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